
Abstract

The Adverb plus Complementizer Construction in French and Romanian

Cornelia Daniela Lupsa

The adverb plus complementizer construction has been known for quite some time in the traditional, descriptive grammars of Romanian and French. Although it has a very interesting structure, it has received little attention in the framework of generative grammar. This paper is a comparative analysis of the adverb plus complementizer construction in French and Romanian, which aims to unveil similarities and differences that will lead to a better understanding of this construction and to patterns and generalizations worth pursuing from a theoretical point of view.

補文標識を伴う文副詞の構文は、ルーマニア語やフランス語の伝統文法では古くから知られている。大変興味深い構造を持っているが、今まで、生成文法の枠組みでは、あまり注目されてこなかった。本研究では、フランス語とルーマニア語を用いて、この構文に関する比較研究を行う。その目的は、相違を明らかにしたうえで、この構文の特徴をよりよく理解し、理論的に解くべき問題を提示することにある。

Keywords: sentence adverb, complementizer, proposition, French, Romanian

in French and Romanian*

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1. Introduction

Romanian and French share the construction in (1), dubbed “the adverb plus complementizer construction” by Ramat and Ricca (1998:212), in which a sentence adverb co-occurs with a complementizer, the equivalent of English *that*.

- (1) a. Probablement (**qu'**) il va pleuvoir.
probably **that** it will rain
'Probably it will rain.'
(Ramat and Ricca 1998:213)
- b. Probabil (**că**) va ploua.
probably **that** will rain
'It will probably rain.'

This paper is a comparative analysis of the adverb plus complementizer construction (henceforth, the APCC) in Romanian and French, which aims to unveil similarities and differences that will lead to a better understanding of the APCC, and to patterns and generalizations worth pursuing from a theoretical point of view. As Ramat and Ricca (1998) show, the APCC is attested in other European languages too (e.g., Latvian, Polish, Russian, Estonian), which means it is not a Romance idiosyncrasy, but in this paper, the discussion will be limited to Romanian and French, the two Romance languages which seem to make the most use of the APCC, in order to eliminate as many unknown factors as possible.

Not all sentence adverbs enter into the APCC. Obviously, those that do will be the main focus of this paper, but, in the process of drawing generalization and inferring patterns, it will be useful to also have a look at those that do not enter into the APCC, and so I will start with speech-act adverbs.

1. The distribution of sentence adverbs in French and Romanian

1.1. Speech-act adverbs

In a discussion of S-initial adverbs in French, Abeillé and Godard (2003) observe that, with the exception of fronted adverbs, S-initial adverbs in French are always incidental, and, indeed, S-initial speech-act adverbs such as *franchement* ‘frankly’ are

set off from the rest of the sentence by “comma intonation”, as shown in (2a) and cannot occur in the APCC, as shown in (2b)¹.

- (2) a. Franchement, je ne peux plus le supporter!
frankly I NE can any longer him stand
‘Frankly, I can’t stand him any longer!’
b. *Franchement **que** je ne peux plus le supporter!
frankly **that** I NE can any longer him stand

Other speech-act adverbs show the same behavior as *franchement*: they appear S-initially with comma intonation, but they cannot be integrated in a sentence using the complementizer *que* and normal, falling intonation. This is shown in (3).

- (3) a. Sincèrement, / Honnêtement, / Sérieusement, je ne peux plus le supporter!
sincerely honestly seriously I NE can anymore him stand
‘Sincerely, / Honestly, / Seriously, I can’t stand him anymore!’
b. *Sincèrement/ *Honnêtement/ *Sérieusement **que** je ne peux plus le supporter!
sincerely honestly seriously **that** I NE can anymore him stand
‘Sincerely, / Honestly, / Seriously, I can’t stand him anymore!’

The same behavior is shown by the adverbial PP counterparts of the adverbs above: they are fine with comma intonation, but cannot co-occur with the complementizer *que* in the APCC.

- (4) a. En toute franchise, / En toute honnêteté, / En toute sincérité, je ...²
in all frankness in all honesty in all sincerity I ...
‘In all frankness, / In all honesty, / In all sincerity, I ...’
b. *En toute franchise / *En toute honnêteté / *En toute sincérité **que** je ...
in all frankness in all honesty in all sincerity **that** I ...
‘In all frankness, / In all honesty, / In all sincerity, I ...’

As remarked on in previous papers (Lupsa 2008, 2011, 2012), speech-act adverbs show the same behavior in Romanian: they are set off from the rest of the sentence by comma intonation and cannot occur in the APCC, as shown in (5).

- (5) Sincer, (*că) nu îl plac pe Ion.
 sincerely (*that) not cl. like John
 ‘Sincerely, I don’t like John.’

Other speech act adverbs and adverbial PPs such as *serios* ‘seriously’, *pe scurt* ‘briefly’, *în mare* ‘roughly’, and *pur și simplu* ‘simply’ show the same behavior as *sincer* in (5). It can thus be concluded that speech-act adverbs in French and Romanian show similar behavior in appearing in a sentence only with comma intonation and not being able to occur in the APCC (as one of the reviewers correctly points out, the APCC and the “adverb + comma intonation” construction are in complementary distribution).

2.2. Evaluative adverbs

Molinier and Levrier (2000:88) list as evaluative forms in *-ment* the adverbs in (6a-j) and point out that the class of evaluative adverbs in French is not as large or open as in English; while French evaluative adverbs in *-ment* in Molinier and Levrier (2000:87) are represented by the ten adverbs listed in (6a-j), the class of English evaluative adverbs in *-ly* is open and includes adverbs such as *annoyingly* or *astoundingly*, which have no counterparts in French.

- (6) a. *heureusement* ‘happily’, ‘luckily’, ‘fortunately’
 b. *malheureusement* ‘unfortunately’
 c. *fâcheusement* ‘regrettably’, ‘unpleasantly’
 d. *regrettablement* ‘regrettably’
 e. *bizarrement* ‘bizarrely’, ‘strangely’
 f. *curieusement* ‘curiously’, ‘strangely’, ‘oddly’
 g. *étonnamment* ‘surprisingly’
 h. *étrangement* ‘strangely’, ‘oddly’
 i. *inexplicablement* ‘inexplicably’
 j. *paradoxalement* ‘paradoxically’

The question comes up why the counterparts of *naturally* or *of course* cannot be found on this list. After all, they seem to fit Molinier and Levrier’s (2000:87) definition of evaluatives:

“Les adverbess qui constituent le groupe des évaluatifs jugent non du degré de vérité ou de certitude d’une proposition—ce qui est le rôle des modaux, cf. *apparemment*, *certainement*, *évidemment*, etc., mais du

caractère favorable ou défavorable que revêt un événement, ou, plus largement, de la perception affective globale qui en est faite par le locuteur.”

But Molinier and Levrier (2000), based on a different criterion, class adverbs such as *bien sûr* and *naturellement* with modal adverbs, a class which ends up containing adverbs that are usually separated into evaluative, evidential and epistemic adverbs in the tradition of generative grammar. I will follow Cinque (1999:84) and complete the list of evidential adverbs in (6) with adverbs such as *bien sûr*, *bien entendu*, and *naturellement*.

- (6) k. *naturellement* ‘naturally’
 - l. *bien sûr* ‘of course’
 - m. *bien entendu* ‘of course’

All the adverbs in (6) can occur S-initially with comma intonation, as in (7).

- (7) Curieusement, Luc n’a rien compris. (Molinier and Levrier 2000:89)
 curiously Luc NE has nothing understood
 ‘Oddly, Luc didn’t understand anything.’

Of the forms given in (6a-j), Molinier and Levrier (2000:90,314) allow only *heureusement* in the APCC; surprisingly, its antonym, *malheureusement* ‘unfortunately’, cannot occur in the APCC.

- (8) a. Heureusement **que** Luc n’a rien compris.
 fortunately **that** Luc NE has nothing understood
 ‘Luc fortunately didn’t understand anything.’
 b. *Malheureusement **que** Luc n’a rien compris.
 unfortunately **that** Luc NE has nothing understood
 (Molinier and Levrier 2000:90)

What about the forms in (6k-m)? According to one of my informants, they can occur in the APCC, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. Naturellement **que** Paul viendra!³
 naturally **that** Paul will come

- 'Naturally, Paul is going to come!'
- b. Bien sûr **que** Paul viendra!
 of course **that** Paul will come
 'Of course Paul will come!'
- c. Bien entendu **que** Paul viendra!
 Well understood **that** Paul will come
 'Of course Paul will come!'

What about evaluative PPs? Examples of evaluative adverbial PPs are given in (10).

- (10) a. *par bonheur* 'fortunately' (lit. 'by fortune')
 b. *par malheur* 'unfortunately' (lit. 'by misfortune')
 c. *par chance* 'luckily' (lit. 'by chance')
 d. *par malchance* 'unfortunately' (lit. 'by bad luck')
 e. *par extraordinaire* (lit. 'by an extraordinary chance')
 f. *par miracle* 'miraculously' (lit. 'by miracle')

According to one of my informants, adverbial PPs such as those in (10) are not felicitous in the APCC.

- (11) a. *Par malchance **que** Luc n'a rien compris!
 By some unlucky twist **that** Luc NE has nothing understood
- b. *Par miracle **qu'**il n'a pas plu pendant la cérémonie!
 By some miracle **that** it NE has not rained during the ceremony

Let us now turn to Romanian evaluative adverbs, examples of which are given in (12).

- (12) a. *noroc* 'luckily' (lit. 'luck', n.)
 b. *păcat* 'unfortunately' (lit. 'sin', n., adj.)
 c. *bine* 'well' (adv., adj.)
 d. *sigur* 'of course' (adv.)
 e. *desigur* 'of course' (adv.)
 f. *firește* 'naturally' (adv.)
 g. *bineînțeles* 'of course' (adv.)
 h. *din fericire* 'fortunately' (lit. 'from happiness', adv. phrase)
 i. *din nefericire* 'unfortunately' (lit. 'from unhappiness') adv. phrase)

j. *din păcate* ‘unfortunately’ (lit. ‘from sins’, adv. phrase)

The behavior of the adverbs and adverbial phrases in (12) is a little bit more complicated. The top three (12a-c), which are actually nouns or adjectives, can occur, with an adverbial/ evaluative meaning, only in the APCC, as shown in (13), without comma intonation, and they cannot occur in a sentence-final position or any other position in the sentence as (evaluative) adverbs. Those in (12d-g) can be integrated in a sentence with comma intonation, as in (14), sentence-initially or sentence-finally, or in the APCC, as in (15). And finally, the adverbial phrases in (12h-j) can occur only with comma intonation, and cannot occur in the APCC, as shown in (16).

- (13) Noroc *(*că*)(*,) nu am chiulit de la cursul ăsta!
 Luck **that** not have skip from class this
 ‘Lucky I didn’t skip this class!’
- (14) Bineînțeles, nici eu nu vreau o notă mică (, bineînțeles)!
 Of course, neither I not want a grade low (, of course)
 ‘Of course, I don’t want a low grade either, (of course)!’
- (15) Bineînțeles *că* nici eu nu vreau o notă mică!
 Of course **that** neither I not want a grade low
 ‘Of course I don’t want a low grade either!’
- (16) Din nefericire, Ion a picat la cursul acesta.
 Unfortunately, John has failed at course this
 ‘Unfortunately, John failed this course.’

To sum it up, Romanian evaluative expressions that are originally adverbs can occur in a sentence with comma intonation or in the APCC; those that are nouns or adjectives can occur only in the APCC; adverbial PPs similar to (10) in French occur only with comma intonation.

2.3. Evidential adverbs

Evidential adverbs (like the evidential particles in the languages that have them) express “the type of evidence the speaker has for his/ her or her assertion” (Cinque 1999:85,86). In the the English evidential class Cinque includes *allegedly*, *apparently*, *clearly*, *evidently*, *reportedly* and similar adverbs. From Molinier and Levrier’s (2000:91-106) modal adverbs in *-ment*, the following can be included in the French evidential class :

- (17) a. *apparemment* ‘apparently’
 b. *évidemment* ‘evidently’

Both of them can occur in the APCC, as well as with comma intonation, without the complementizer *que*. Molinier and Levrier (2000:94) note that the APCC usage of *apparemment* sounds dated and that the incidental usage in (19a) is common today. Although in the *Tables syntaxique* Molinier and Levrier (2000:315) list *évidemment* as not participating in the APCC (“Adv que P”), my informant has no problems with *évidemment* in the APCC in (18b).

- (18) a. Apparemment **qu’il** viendra. (Molinier and Levrier 2000:94)
 apparently **that** he will come
 ‘Apparently, he will come.’
 b. Évidemment **que** Paul viendra!
 evidently **that** Paul will come
 ‘Paul will evidently come.’
- (19) a. Apparemment, Luc est en retard. (Molinier and Levrier 2000:95)
 apparently Luc is in delay
 ‘Apparently, Luc is running late.’
 b. Évidemment, Paul viendra.
 evidently Paul will come
 ‘Paul will evidently come.’

The class of Romanian evidential adverbs, quite small, is given in (20), together with their origin (Romanian has an even smaller class of adverbs than French, with almost no productive adverbial suffixes; many adverbs have been formed through compounding or conversion from other categories).

- (20) a. *parcă* ‘seemingly’, ‘as it seems’
 (=compound; *pare*= 3rd person singular of *părea* ‘seem’ + *că*) (Zafiu 2006: 254)
 b. *cică* ‘reportedly’, ‘allegedly’
 (=compound; *ci*= old form of the verb *say* + *că*) (Zafiu 2006: 254)
 c. *pesemne* ‘apparently’, ‘seemingly’
 (=compound; prep. *pe* ‘on’ + n. *semne* ‘signs’)
 d. *evident* ‘evidently’ (>adjective; homophonous)

e. *pasămite* ‘apparently’

(*pasă* = 1st/ 3rd person singular of *pasă* ‘to be concerned, care about’ + suffix *-mite*)

f. *chipurile* ‘allegedly’, ‘ostensibly’

(plural definite form of the noun *chip* ‘way, manner’)

The first two, (20a,b) can be said to always occur in the APCC when they have sentence scope. As shown in (21a, b), when modifying a sentence, they cannot occur with comma intonation and they have incorporated the complementizer.

(21) a. Lui Ionuț *cică* (*,) nu-i place gramatica.

Johnny-Dat reportedly not-cl like grammar

‘Johnny reportedly doesn’t like grammar.’

b. *Parcă* (*,) seamăună cu bunica ei.

as it seems resembles with grandmother her

‘She seems (to me) to look like her grandmother’

Pesemne in (20c) shows the same behavior: comma intonation is not possible when it has the sentence in its scope and the complementizer is obligatory.

(22) *Pesemne că* nu-i place gramatica.

apparently that not-cl likes grammar

‘(S)he doesn’t seem to like grammar.’

The next adverb on the list though, *evident* in (20d), has both options: it can appear in the APCC as in (23a), but it can also appear with comma intonation and without the complementizer, as in (23b).

(23) a. *Evident că* îl place pe Ion.

evidently **that** cl likes ACC John

‘S/he evidently likes John.’

b. *Evident, îl place pe Ion.*

evidently cl likes ACC John

‘Evidently, s/he likes John.’

The last two adverbs in (20e,f) seem, to me at least, to be acceptable only in incidental,

comma intonation, uses, as in (24).

- (24) a. *Pasămite, el nu era un broscoi, ci un prinț ...*
 apparently he not was a frog but a prince
 ‘Apparently, he wasn’t a frog, but a prince...’
 b. *A venit, chipurile, să ne ajute.* (Pană-Dindelegan 2013:438)
 has come ostensibly to us help
 ‘(S)he came ostensibly to give us a hand.’

2.4. Epistemic adverbs

The adverbial forms in *-ment* (culled from the list of modal adverbs given in Molinier and Levrier 2000:92) that can be included in the class of French epistemic adverbs are given below in (25a-f). Other adverbs and adverbial PPs are given in (25g-k): *peut-être* (derived from the 3rd person singular form of French *can* plus the infinitive of *be*) and adverbial PPs formed with the preposition *sans* ‘without’.

- (25) a. *assurément* ‘certainly, without a doubt’
 b. *certainement* ‘certainly’
 c. *possiblement* ‘possibly’
 d. *probablement* ‘probably’
 e. *sûement* ‘certainly’
 f. *vraisemblablement* ‘most probably’
 g. *inmanquablement* ‘inevitably’
 h. *incontestablement* ‘incontestably’
 i. *indéniablement* ‘undeniably’
 j. *indiscutablement* ‘without discussion’
 k. *indubitablement* ‘indubitably’
 l. *ineluctablement* ‘inescapably’
 m. *peut-être* ‘maybe’
 n. *sans doute* ‘without doubt’
 o. *sans aucun doute* ‘without any doubt’

p. *sans nul doute* ‘without any doubt’

r. *sans conteste* ‘without controversy’

Almost all of the adverbs and adverbial PPs in (25) can appear sentence-initially with comma intonation, as shown in (26) for *vraisemblablement*.

(26) *Vraisemblablement*, Paul sera en retard. (Molinier and Levrier 2000: 93)

most probably Paul will be in delay

‘Most probably, Paul will be late.’

In (26), *vraisemblablement* can be replaced by *assurément*, all the *in-* forms, *probablement*, and the *sans* forms. My informant (Cornelia Vecchio, p.c.) rejected *certainement*, *peut-être*, *possiblement*, and *sûrement* in this position, but Molinier and Levrier (2000:94) give examples with *certainement* and *sûrement* in this environment.

(27) a. *Certainement*, Paul a raison.

certainly Paul has right

‘Certainly, Paul is right.’

b. *Sûrement*, Paul a raison.

surely Paul has right

‘Surely, Paul is right.’

Molinier and Levrier (2000) do not offer examples with *possiblement*, but in a discussion on page 93 put it on a list of adverbs that behave like *vraisemblablement* in (26). My informant may have rejected the example with *possiblement* because, as she informed me, the adverb itself is very little used in present-day French. As for *peut-être*, Molinier and Levrier (2000) do not state or imply anything about such an usage, so let us accept my informant’s judgment at the moment (see note 4).

As for the APCC, my informant accepted all the adverbs in (25) except *assurément*, the *in-* forms, and *possiblement*, and had reservations about *certainement* (not being “good style” in the APCC). Molinier and Levrier (2000:94,95) note that *assurément* was used in the APCC (the example is from Molière), but this usage has been replaced by the incidental one in Modern French. But they allow *certainement*, *probablement*, *sûrement*,

vraisemblablement, *peut-être*, and *sans doute* in the APCC.

- (28) Certainement/ peut-être⁴ **que** Paul viendra. (Molinier and Levrier 2000:95)
 certainly/ maybe **that** Paul will come
 ‘Paul will certainly come./ Maybe Paul will come.’

Nothing is said about *possiblement*, and, in the *Tables syntaxique* at the end of the study (p.315), it figures as not participating in the APCC. It is doubtful the counterpart of *possiblement* ‘possibly’ even exists in Romanian. When sentence-initial, it always selects a subjunctive complement, as in (29a), and there is always the possibility that (a) was derived through ellipsis from the *be possible* (copula plus adjective) combination in (b). It may be that both in Romanian and French, ‘possibly’ (assuming it exists in Romanian) cannot select the complementizer *că* because of its semantics: it selects for irrealis mood, while the complementizer *că/ que* selects finite tenses (realis).

- (29) a. Posibil **să** se fi dus acolo.
 possible to SE been gone there
 ‘Possibly he went there.’
 b. E posibil **să** se fi dus acolo.
 is possible to SE been gone there
 ‘It’s possible that he went there.’

Let us proceed to the class of epistemic adverbs in Romanian, given in (30).

- (30) a. *cu siguranță* ‘with certainty’
 (prep. *cu* ‘with’ + n. *siguranță* ‘certainty’)
 b. *fără îndoială* ‘without doubt’
 (prep. *fără* ‘without’ + n. *îndoială* ‘doubt’)
 c. *fără nici o îndoială* ‘without any doubt’
 (prep. *fără* ‘without’ + adv. *nici* ‘any’ + art. *o* ‘a’ + n. *îndoială* ‘doubt’)
 d. *probabil* ‘probably’
 (<adjective *probabil* ‘probably’)
 e. *poate* ‘maybe’
 (3rd person singular form of *putea* ‘can, may’)

All of these adverbs and adverbial phrases can occur in the APCC, as already shown in (1b) for *probabil*. When sentence-initial, (30a, b, c, d) may appear with comma

intonation, but *poate* (identical with the 3rd person singular form of Romanian *can/ may*) has to be prosodically integrated.

2.5. Degree adverbs

In Romanian, but not in French, the degree adverb *aproape* ‘almost’ can occur in the APCC, as shown in (31).

- (31) Aproape **că** l-a omorât pe Ion.
 almost **that** him-has killed ACC John
 ‘S/He almost killed John.’

As a degree adverb, *aproape* is always prosodically integrated and located in front of the constituent it modifies, so an incidental usage is not possible. When it modifies a sentence (verb), *aproape* has to be in front of the Neg-Aux-V complex in Romanian (in fact, it cannot break the Neg-Aux-V complex; only clitics or clitic adverbs can break this complex). This is patently different in French, in which *presque* ‘almost’ occurs right in front of the verb, as in (32).

- (32) Vous aviez presque manqué le train.
 You had almost missed the train
 ‘You had nearly missed the train.’ (Calvez 2005:229)

In Romanian, this sentence would have to be expressed as in (33).

- (33) Aproape **că** ai pierdut trenul.
 Almost **that** have lost the train
 ‘You almost missed the train.’

2.6. Focusing adverbs

In Romanian, the APCC shows two more possibilities not instantiated in French, as far as I am aware. Focusing adverbs such as *chiar* ‘even’ and *tocmai* ‘just, exactly’ have uses that look exactly like the APCC, although so far, I have not seen this pointed out in the literature on Romanian adverbs. Examples are given in (34).

- (34) a. Chiar **că** mă supăr de data asta!
 Even **that** me get angry this time
 ‘This time I’m really getting angry.’

b. A: Mai bine nu mai mergem la petrecerea asta.

‘We’d better not go to this party.’

B: Tocmai **că** nu vreau să mergem!

Exactly **that** not want to go

‘Exactly! I don’t WANT to go.’

Since only clitic adverbs can break the Neg-Aux-V complex in Romanian, when they serve to focus the V, focusing adverbs such as *chiar* and *tocmai* have to occur in front of the Neg-Aux-V complex. If a sentence-modifying degree adverb such as *aproape* occurs in the APCC, it makes sense, in a way, that focusing adverbs with the sentence in their scope will also occur in the APCC.

3. What is similar? What is different? A bird’s eye view

Let us see now how the larger picture looks and what we can infer from the data so far. To this end, I have arranged the data in the following table.

Table 1				
Class	French	APCC	Romanian	APCC
Speech-act	franchement		sincer	
	sincèrement		serios	
	honnêtement		pe scurt	
	sérieusement		în mare	
	en toute franchise		pur și simplu	
	en toute honnêteté		cu toată sinceritatea	
	en toute sincérité			
Evaluative	heureusement	✓	noroc	✓
	malheureusement		păcat	✓
	fâcheusement		bine	✓
	regrettablement		sigur	✓
	bizarrement		desigur	✓
	curieusement		firește	✓
	étonnamment		bineînțeles	✓
	étrangement		din fericire	
	inexplicablement		din nefericire	
	paradoxalement		din păcate	

	naturellement	✓		
	bien sûr	✓		
	bien entendu	✓		
	par bonheur			
	par malheur			
	par chance			
	par malchance			
	par extraordinaire			
	par miracle			
Evidential	apparemment	✓	parcă	
	évidemment	✓	cică	
			pesemne	✓
			evident	✓
			pasămite	
			chipurile	
Epistemic	assurément	✓	cu siguranță	✓
	certainement	✓	fără îndoială	✓
	possiblement		fără nici o îndoială	✓
	probablement	✓	probabil	✓
	sûrement	✓	poate	✓
	vraisemblablement	✓		
	inmanquablement			
	incontestablement			
	indéniablement			
	indiscutablement			
	indubitablement			
	inéluçtablement			
	peut-être	✓		
	sans doute	✓		
	sans aucun doute	✓		
	sans nul doute	✓		
	sans conteste	✓		
Degree	presque		aproape	✓
Focusing	justement		chiar	✓
			tomai	✓

The following generalizations and observations can be stated from the data above:

- A. Only adverbs that select propositions (or, in the case of degree and focusing adverbs, may select for propositions among other things) can occur in the APCC. Adverbs that modify the act of communication itself, such as speech-act adverbs, cannot appear in the APCC (see also Lupsa 2011, 2012). The question is: what is the mechanism that prompts the realization of the complementizer after an adverb that selects a proposition?
- B. While proposition selectors in Romanian have to be sentence-initial and (mostly) have to appear in the APCC, in French, evaluative, evidential, and epistemic adverbs have the option of appearing, with integrated prosody, after a finite V or between Aux and a participle. What is the difference between French and Romanian? What sort of mechanism underlies the different surface forms in French?
- C. Adverbs in *-ment* are quite constrained regarding the APCC. The form of the adverb (prefixes such as *in-* or *mal-*) seems to affect the adverb's ability to appear in the APCC. In general, as my French informants tell me, *-ment* adverbs sound quite heavy when they are sentence-initial. Is there a connection between the internal make-up of the adverb (adverbial phrase) and the APCC? What is it?
- D. Regarding adverbial expressions, prepositions such as *sans/ fără/ cu* 'without/ with' pose no problems for the PP's ability to appear in the APCC, but *par/ din* 'by/ from' disqualify an adverbial PP from appearing in the APCC. Is there a connection between the prepositions in the adverbial phrase and the APCC? What is it?

4. Conclusion

The data examined in this paper lead to the conclusion that there is a strong similarity between the French and the Romanian APCC: it involves only adverbs and adverbial phrases that select propositions (tensed clauses), but not all of them. Assuming there *are* regularities to the APCC and that there is a criterion which the native speakers of both languages use to rule out the exceptions, this should be an interesting topic for future research. It is certainly encouraging that the same kind of adverbs/ adverbial phrases tend to be accepted or excluded by the APCC. From a comparative point of view, it is interesting that Romanian sentence adverbs are restricted to the APCC, while French sentence adverbs can be integrated in a sentence in at least two ways; the question is what prompts this difference. And of course, from a theoretical point of view, it should be interesting to discover the mechanism through which a sentence adverb triggers the realization of a complementizer in a root sentence.

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Notes

1. Unless otherwise indicated, the French judgments in this paper belong to my informants Isabelle Giraudou (Nagoya University), Denis Devienne (Tohoku University), and Cornelia Vecchio (Sciences Po Paris), for which I am very grateful to them. The Romanian judgments, unless otherwise specified, belong to the author.
2. *En tout sérieux* is not attested (Molinier and Levrier 2000:67). Although Molinier and Levrier (2000) group *confidentiellement* with the other adverbs here, there seems to be some degree of variation in usage here, as one of my informants judges (i), (ii), and (iii) as not possible, for which I have no explanation at the moment.
 - (i) *Confidentiellement, je ne peux plus le supporter!
 - (ii) *En confidence, / *En toute confidentialité, je ne peux plus le supporter.
 - (iii) *Confidentiellement/ *En confidence/ *En toute confidentialité **que** je ne peux plus le supporter!

Molinier and Levrier (2000:66-67) give the following examples with *confidentiellement*, in which it appears to show the same behavior as the other speech act adverbs:

 - (iv) (Confidentiellement + Franchement + Honnêtement+ ...), ce spectacle est nul.
 - (v) Confidentiellement, j'hésite sur mon choix.
= En confidence, j'hésite sur mon choix.
3. According to one of my informants, many of the examples with evaluative adverbs sound more natural as exclamations. Presumably, as Molinier and Levrier say themselves in the quote given above, the evaluative adverb reflects the emotional and subjective nature of the judgment passed by the speaker concerning the state of affairs expressed in the proposition. This goes for the Romanian examples too.
4. Calvez (2005:207) states that when *peut-être* comes at the beginning of the clause it modifies, it requires SAI, as in (i).
 - (i) S'il doit pleuvoir, **peut-être vaudrait-il** mieux ne pas sortir.
'If it is going to rain, perhaps we'd better not go out.'

Calvez (2005:207) also states that "the inversion required by the initial position of *peut-être* may be avoided by using *que*", as in (ii).

 - (ii) S'il doit pleuvoir, **peut-être qu'il** vaudrait mieux ne pas sortir.
'If it is going to rain, perhaps we'd better not go out.'

Otherwise, the adverb can be placed between a finite auxiliary and a participle, or after a

finite verb, as in (iii).

(iii) S'il doit pleuvoir, il **vaudrait peut-être** mieux ne pas sortir.

'If it is going to rain, perhaps we'd better not go out.'

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